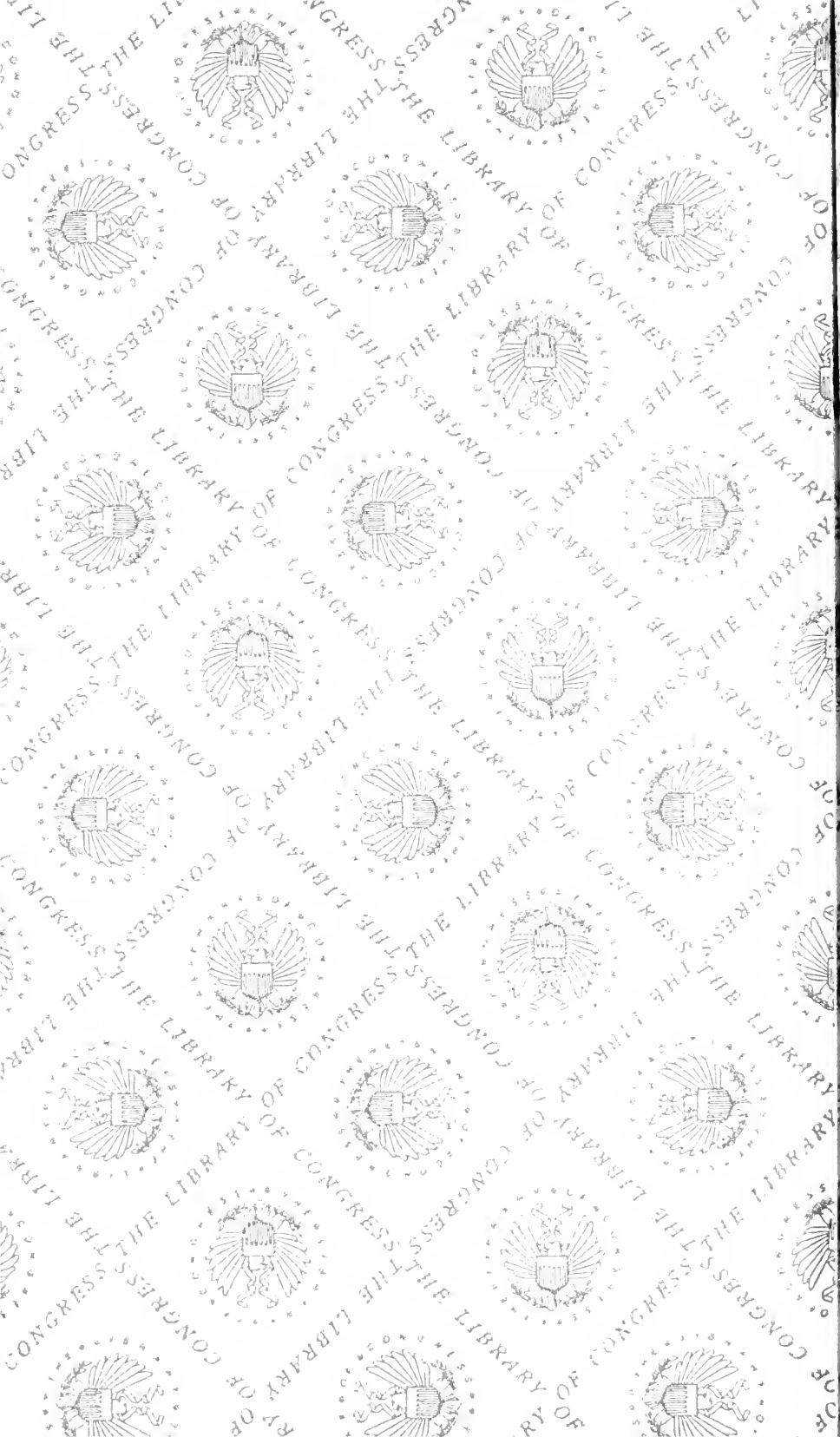
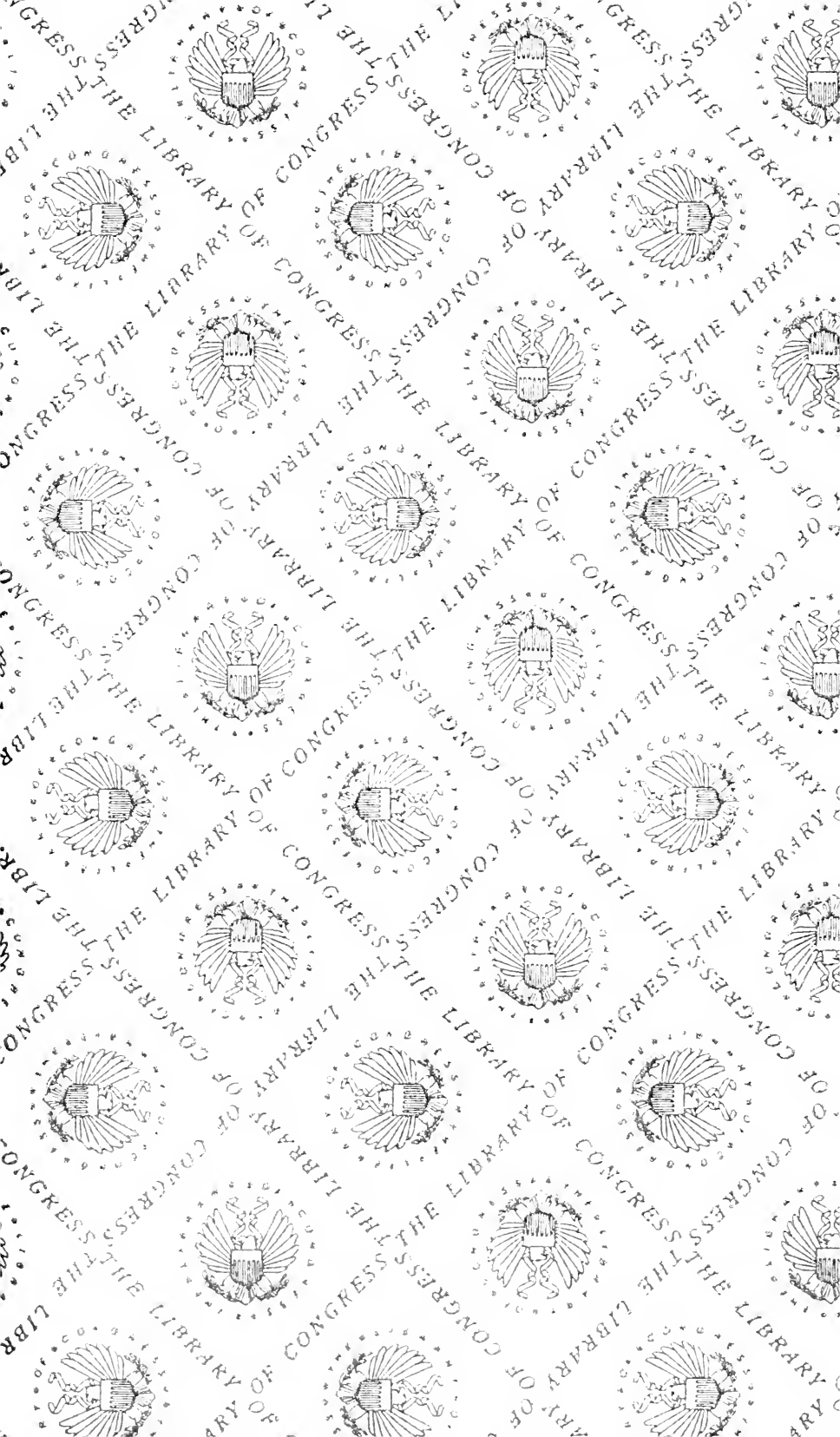


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A L E T T E R

FROM A

GENTLEMAN OF BALTIMORE,

TO HIS

FRIEND IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK,

ON THE

SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

THIRD EDITION.



BALTIMORE:

SHERWOOD & CO., PRINTERS,

1842.

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Ms. A. 9. 2. 11. 11
BALTIMORE, DEC. 12, 1841.

MY DEAR * * * * *

I have been prevented, by various calls upon my time, from complying, as soon as I desired, with a promise I made you about mid-summer, to express to you, more fully than I had before done, my sentiments upon the subject of slavery. As about equal portions of my life have been spent at the South and at the North,—in the slave-holding and in the non-slave-holding States—with wide opportunities of observation—and as I am, moreover, connected with both these communities by the strongest ties of consanguinity and friendship, some value may be conceded to my opinions on this head,—and, certainly, I may claim for them an exemption from prejudice.

I acknowledge that my impressions upon the subject of negro-slavery are very strong; but this is the result of observation and reflection—not of prejudice. At earlier periods of my life my opinions faltered;—but that was because they were unsupported by sufficient knowledge, and unconfirmed by sufficient meditation.

The inquiry seems to be, whether the people of the South, by continuing to hold their slaves in bondage, merit the Divine displeasure;—or, what is truly of much less consequence, the censure of British and New England abolitionists. The only way to arrive at the will of God is to refer to the natural or revealed evidences of it. Where the latter exist, and are easily interpreted, there

is, of course, an end of the inquiry. To question the beneficence and wisdom of His arrangements would be foolish and irreverent; and I, certainly, have no disposition to reason with those who would do so. That the Institution of Slavery, then, is one of the primitive domestic relations, ordained and established by the Creator, for wise purposes, and as one of the best means of promoting the happiness of the human family, I have no doubt: nor do I doubt that, by it, the human family are the better compacted and interwoven, the system of mutual relation and dependency the better established, and the great chain of subordination, so essential to the Divine, as well as to human Governments, the better sustained.

The prophetic denunciation of Noah of one of the three branches of his family is the first notice of slavery upon record; and it occurred, literally, at the very dawn of time. Noah spoke under the dictation of Heaven;—his words were the words of Omnipotence, and, by them, slavery was ordained in the world. So important an act of God was not casual; it was the result of premeditation and design; it allotted to a distinct portion of the human family a position in the world of extreme subordination and dependency. This was an early and primitive arrangement of the Almighty; an Institution set up in the household of Noah, to be perpetuated, through all time, upon one of the branches of his family. The words of Noah are: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. And he said blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and shall dwell in the tents of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant." Gen. 9th: 25th.

And we find, afterwards, in chapters 14 and 17, of the same Book, that Abraham, the "Friend of God," had acquired, and owned very many servants; and that God, in establishing his covenants with that good man, gave ex-

press instructions as to the treatment of his slaves,—or those that he had “*bought with money of the stranger.*” In Leviticus, 25th chapter, 39th to the 46th verse, God, in delivering the law to Moses, says: “And if thy brother that dwelleth by thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou shalt not compel him to serve as a bond servant: But as a hired servant, and as a sojourner he shall be with thee, and shall serve thee unto the year of Jubilee: And then shall he depart from thee, and both he and his children with him, and shall return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his Fathers shall he return. For they are my servants which I brought forth out of the land of Egypt; they shall not be sold as bond-men. Thou shalt not rule over him with rigor, but shalt fear thy God. Both thy bond-men and bond-maids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bond-men and bond-maids.—Moreover, of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. *And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession, they shall be your bond-men forever:* But over your brethren, the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigor.” Again: In Exodus, ch. 21—20th and 21st verses, God, in delivering the ten commandments, and sundry other laws and ordinances to the Israelites, says: “And if a man smite his servant or his maid with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished, *for he is his money.*”

So much for the Old Testament: For the New: Although we have nothing on record that fell immediately from the lips of the Saviour on this subject, yet, if St. Peter and St. Paul are to be deemed correct expounders of his doc-

trines, we have abundant evidence that he deemed it no part of his heavenly errand to disturb the arrangements of the Creator in regard to slavery in the world. Indeed, Christ himself, in his Sermon on the Mount—that admirable compendium of Ethicks, and the first of his teachings on Earth, says: “Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the Prophets: I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil: For, verily I say unto you, till Heaven and Earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled.”

St. Paul, the chief of the apostles, in his letter to the Ephesians, 6th ch. 5th verse, says: “Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts, as unto Christ.” Again: in his Epistle to the Colossians, 3d ch. 22d verse, he says: “Servants, obey, in all things, your masters according to the flesh, not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.”

In the 4th ch., verse 1st, he says: “Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a master in Heaven.” In his first epistle to Timothy, ch. 6th: verse 1st, he says: “Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God, and his doctrine be not blasphemed.” In his Epistle to Titus, 2d ch., verse 9th, he says: “Exhort servants to be obedient unto their masters, and to please them well in all things; not answering again, not purloining, but shewing all good fidelity; that they may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things.” The Apostle Peter, in his first Epistle general, 2d chapter, holds this language: “Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward.”

These multiplied evidences that the great Author of all things, himself, established slavery in the world need no

comment. They speak, with resistless force, to the point. It was as obviously a part of his design and arrangement that slaves should exist, and be patient of their condition and obedient to their masters, as that wives and children should exist, in a state of subordination and obedience to their husbands and parents.

The establishment, the definition, the rules for the mutual government of these three domestic relations are equally plain upon the face of the sacred record. There is no more doubt about one, than another; of neither can it be said that it is more clearly inscribed upon the page than the rest.

They all, as well as the other Institutions of God, have been assailed, and overthrown, by infidels and miscreants, in different States, and at different periods of the world; and, sometimes, these mischiefs have been perpetrated, even by ignorant zealots and silly fanatics. In France, for example, at a very modern era, the Institution of marriage was repudiated,—and little children were taught to turn from the parental shrine, and bend the knee to the naked Goddess of Liberty.

These execrable tenets were inculcated throughout the State, by men, who, to say the least of them, were quite as respectable, both for intelligence and numbers, as those who compose the present classes of abolitionists. Yet it was quite evident that God ordained marriage, and that his Son, with his own lips, had taught little children lessons of obedience to their parents.

Before advancing from this branch of the inquiry it is proper that I ask your indulgence, for having quoted, at length, the passages of scripture upon which this part of the argument rests. The simple array of them, it appears to me, leads necessarily to conviction; and it is better that the letter should be a little encumbered, than that they should be forgotten.

I propose now to take a very cursory view of the history of negro slavery as connected with Great Britain; that it may be seen with what grace the abolitionists of that country are venturing to interfere with the properties and peace of the inhabitants of this Union. The English, under the auspices of their Government, engaged in the African slave trade in the year 1562; and, in 1620, they commenced the introduction of slaves into Virginia. In 1585, Queen Elizabeth granted a Patent to the African Company; and the trade in negro slaves was carried on extensively under the express sanction of the Crown. In 1592, she granted another Patent. In 1618, James 1st granted an entirely new and improved charter. In 1631, Charles 1st granted another. In 1651, the Rump Parliament granted another. The two last were after slaves were first introduced into Virginia. After the restoration, Charles the 2d, in 1672, incorporated his own brother, the Duke of York, and others, into a company, which contracted to supply the Plantations—ourselves—with slaves.

In 1672, the Royal African Company was incorporated, with a capital of one hundred and eleven thousand pounds, sterling.

Until 1698 the slave trade was carried on under the auspices of the English Government; and, until then, was a monopoly of the Crown;—when the law of 9th and 10th William 3d, ch. 26, granted liberty to all the King's subjects to trade, on paying a duty of ten per centum for repairing African forts.

Soon after the accession of Anne, in 1701, she wrote a letter to her Parliament congratulating them upon her having obtained, by Treaty, very great additional facilities for conducting that most profitable branch of business, the trade in negro slaves to the coast of Africa. In 1709—11 and 12, Parliament declared the trade open to all the

subjects of the Realm, upon paying the prescribed duty to Government.

In the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, there is an express stipulation that the Spaniards should be annually supplied, by the English, with four thousand eight hundred slaves for thirty years, at a stipulated price,—making a hundred and forty-four thousand in all.

Here was the British Crown contracting with a foreign Prince for the sale of this great number of negro slaves; and this, too, in the palmiest hour of England. It was no moment of public depression, of shortened finances and oppressive debt,—of defeat and disaster—when the nation might have been driven to new and strange expedients to fill the public purse: nor was the public mind, then, benighted and ignorant—when gross sins might have been committed without a bad intent. Not at all. Happiness and prosperity prevailed in the land; it was the day of the triumph of her arms at Blenheim and Ramelies; debt she knew not; her revenues were ample; religion and letters were in the ascendant; the public mind was highly cultivated and improved—not only by ancient instructions and the lights of experience, but by the daily lessons of that admirable company of moralists, Hally, Newton, Congreve, Addison, Steele, Bolingbroke, Swift, Dennis and Prior. Yet with all these lights and aids to her understanding, England dictated the Treaty of Utrecht, and, in that dignified Instrument, bargained to supply Spain with negro slaves for a stipulated price. In a subsequent and separate Treaty made by England with Spain, in the same year, 1713, this bargain—called the *Assiento contract*—was more fully defined. It stipulated, “that from the first of May, 1713, to the first of May 1743, there should be transported into the Spanish West Indies 144,000 negroes, at the rate of 4800 a year, and that for each negro there should be paid thirty-three and one-third

pieces of eight.' I refer to the Treaties; and to the Queen's Speech to the House of Lords the preceding year, pending the negotiations prefatory to them. Smollet, in his continuation of Hume, gives us some account of these documents.

This trade, in the year 1748, was found to be an extremely beneficial one; and, in that year, the Royal African Company relinquished its charter. In 1750, the trade to the coast of Africa, was, by act of Parliament, 23d George 2d, ch. 31, opened to all the subjects of the Realm. The act of 5th George 3—1765—vested in the Crown all the forts and castles on the African coast; yet the trade was still left open and free to all. In 1766, an act of Parliament was passed laying duties on slaves imported into the British West Indies and North American Plantations.—From the year 1562 the English were engaged in this trade, and from 1585 it was openly sanctioned and encouraged by Parliament. The city of Liverpool was almost solely built up by it. By act of Parliament of 5th George 2d, ch. 7, sec. 1st, negroes were declared to be property, made liable for the payment of debts, and declared assets in the hands of executors, &c.

Upon this mass of Historical and Legislative facts would it not be superfluous to go into an argument to shew that for centuries—through the reigns of the last Tudor, the Steuarts, the Usurping Parliament, Cromwell and the restored Charles,—William, Anne, and the Princes of the House of Brunswick,—through every vicissitude of family, religion, of war and peace, in prosperity and in adversity, it was the habit, and avowed policy of the British Government to foster and promote this trade in every possible way, that her subjects were constantly engaged in it, and that she derived habitual revenue from it? It appears so to me; and I will not weaken my positions by attempting to enforce what is already so self-evident. Our ancestors, the

ancestors of the present generations in England, and the ancestors of our neighbors in the East and North, were the persons who planted slavery in this land; and they did it under the auspices of their common Government. A passing remark may not be out of place here, upon the fact that Great Britain, though she was actively engaged for near three centuries in the negro slave trade, did not see proper to introduce them at home to any great extent. This was a matter of policy, and not of conscience. It was owing entirely to the narrowness of her territorial limits, and the teeming exuberance of her own white population. Under the feudal system, the Kingdom swarmed, for centuries, with white slaves, called *villains*; who were, habitually, bought and sold,—and punished with a degree of severity by their owners that would be shocking to modern masters and revolting to modern laws.

This severe discipline was allowed by law: 25th Edward 3d ch. 18. By another statute, if these white slaves departed from the service of their masters, and went into another country, they might be reclaimed, and punished with burning in the forehead. If farther proof were necessary that the English had no moral scruple about slavery in their own land, it might be abundantly found in various acts of Parliament and decisions of their Superior Courts of three centuries ago—in the reign of the 6th Edward, —in which slavery is acknowledged, the word *slave* is familiarly used, and slaves are put upon the footing of ordinary merchandise. You are not a lawyer, but it is nevertheless possible that this may fall under a lawyer's eye, and you will pardon me for continuing to sustain my positions by reference to authority. I cite statute 1st Edward 6th ch. 3d: Butts vs. Pinny, in the King's Bench, in 1677, 29th of Charles 2d, and the previous cases therein referred to. I close this branch of the subject with the additional remark, that, during the hundred and fifty years that

Great Britain was engaged in importing slaves into the Southern Colonies, Virginia was continually protesting against it.

And here let us look a little more closely at the connection of our Eastern and Northern friends with Southern slavery, and endeavor to ascertain what is their exact position in regard to the *great evil* they complain of so bitterly. The Constitution limited the period for the introduction of slaves into this country to the year 1808. In the Convention which formed the Constitution, the Delegates from Virginia insisted upon its immediate discontinuance, deeming it a political evil; but the Representatives from the East and North would not listen to it, on the ground that their constituents were extensively engaged in the slave trade, and must have a reasonable time for winding up so large a business. Indeed, when a Committee of the Convention had reported in favor of limiting the time to the year 1800, and an Amendment was moved to extend it to 1808, Virginia voted against it, and the amendment was carried by the votes of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire. Either two of these three States, by casting their votes differently, would have sustained the Report, and rejected the amendment. See the Madison Papers.

A very large portion of all the property in several of the New England States was earned in the slave trade. It has been estimated, for example, that if every acre of land in Rhode Island were worth a hundred dollars, the aggregate has been twice over earned by the extensive and long continued operations of her citizens in the slave trade.—The Towns of New Port, Bristol and Providence, in Rhode Island, Stonington, New London and New Haven, in Connecticut, Fall River, Boston and Salem, in Massachusetts, were engaged to a greater or less extent for a number of years in the slave trade; and some of

them, like Liverpool, were almost solely built up by it. Bristol is proverbial; and a large portion of the Town of New Port, called Factory Point, now in a state of ruin, was devoted for many years to this trade, and few other vessels but the largest Guineamen swam at its wharves. For all the facts I have adduced I refer to the authorities cited, and to the records where they will be naturally found. The conclusions that are inferable from them are too plain and too direct to require further remark or argument.

It now remains for me to make known to you the results of my observation upon the actual condition of slavery as it now exists at the South. It appears to me that the government of the servants of the South, as a general rule, is a very mild and paternal one,—a sway quite as lenient as is compatible with a proper subordination, and the true happiness of the slave. If the slave is well, he is comfortably fed and clothed—rarely overtaken—allowed all the reasonable indulgences that the white servants of other countries enjoy, and, I am inclined to think, more: If he is sick, however old, or infirm or worn out he may be, the kindest offices of humanity and tenderness are extended to him. In almost all cases, the white family show the same interest, and feel the same solicitude as if he were one of themselves; and it is a very common thing for a servant, when ill, to refuse to permit any one to approach his bed but his master or mistress. This feeling has its root in the best affections of the heart.

It may surprise the Northern Abolitionist to be told that in many—very many instances at the South—indeed one can scarce ride two miles without an example of it—masters and servants have lived, from generation to generation, in the same family, for an hundred years, in the utmost harmony, with the strongest mutual attachments,

and where it is very evident to the observer that the blacks are the happiest portion of the household. They are free from care, free from responsibility, free from anxiety, and most of the besetments of human life. What I have thus stated is a general rule. There are some sad instances of the reverse, to be sure; but the general rule certainly applies to nine-tenths, if not a larger portion of the community. I am not prepared to admit that the exceptions to it are more numerous than the instances, in all countries, of conjugal or parental cruelty. Bad men exist everywhere; but I cannot admit that the manifestations of their wickedness appear more frequently in the ill treatment of slaves than of wives or children. A bad master would be a bad husband or bad parent, and this, whether he lived in New York or Maryland.

Masters sometimes kill their slaves; husbands sometimes kill their wives; parents sometimes kill their children; but these acts of ferocity occur very rarely; and, when they do, are equally visited with the same condign punishment. In my own State, and I believe in her sister States of the South, the same scorn and public reprobation would fall upon the master who would treat his slave with unjust cruelty as would fall upon the husband that would oppress his wife, or the parent who would oppress his child; and I am very sure that the public sensibility is quite as alive to these sins, and as apt to detect them, in a Southern, as in a Northern community.

Allow me to add that I know several large estates in Maryland, and there are a great many of them in Virginia, upon which hundreds of negroes have lived, from father to son, for a century,—devoted to their homes, attached to the soil, rendering a willing duty and service, clinging round their hereditary masters with exemplary devotion and truth, worshipping with him in the same Temple, kneeling with him at the same Altar, and, with the same

motives and hopes, adoring the same God. Yet these are the people in whose hands, we are informed, the Northern Abolitionist would place the torch and the knife. Let them beware, before they set about this foul work, of the dreadful consequences that await it. A servile war—which, if it be not their aim, it is, at least, the tendency of their doctrines to produce—would be attended, in a few short months, with the sacrifice of tens of thousands of lives,—of the lives of those whom they affect to befriend. The great dread of the enlightened men of the South, in case of such a conflict, is not for the white portion of the community; but for the helpless blacks, who would be crushed in masses by the armed multitudes in defence of their families, and in vengeance for any injuries that might have been inflicted upon them. I can look forward to no bound to the slaughter that would follow such an outbreak. The poor negro would be driven to the wall, dragged from his last hiding place, and the kindest master's authority could no longer protect him. In regard to the general spirit of the legislation of Maryland and Virginia in reference to the people of colour—in all their conditions, nothing could be more charitable or benign than it is. The highest principles of justice and mercy pervade every page of it. Their rights are carefully protected by the laws; and these laws are faithfully administered by the courts. And we have laws, moreover, appropriating large sums of money for the gradual removal from amongst us of the whole race of blacks. These laws have been framed in great wisdom and prudence, and upon experience; and, moving on, slowly but certainly, they will ultimately accomplish their most beneficent designs, if not disturbed in their operations by the rude and inconsiderate hand of abolitionism.

Though we do not doubt the high origin of the Institution of Slavery, and are very sure that it is sanctioned by

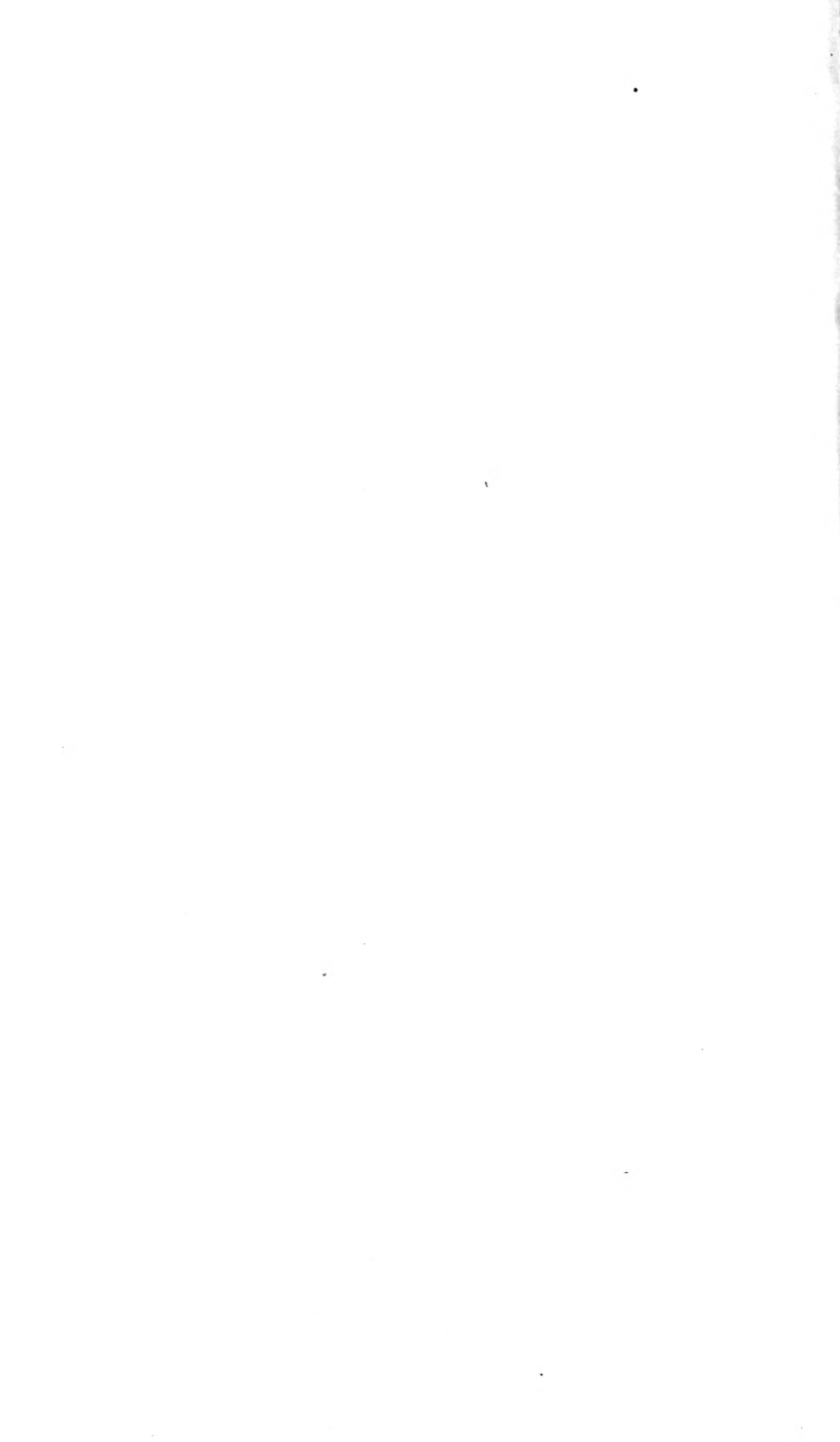
the revealed as well as the natural law, though we question, most positively, the right of British and Northern Abolitionists to rob us of property which their ancestors forced us to *buy from them with money*, and while we know that our management and control of this property is merciful and humane;—we are, nevertheless, of opinion that its existence among us—in the present conditions of our society—is a political evil; and we design to free ourselves from it, in such modes, at such periods, and upon such conditions as may comport with our own convenience, and our own notions of justice. In these views and measures, we are aware that the great masses of our intelligent fellow citizens of the East and North agree with us; and it is grateful to us to know that the vile weed of Abolitionism is destined to be smothered by the nobler products of the soil that gave it birth. Without apology for extending a letter upon so important a subject to an unusual length, I remain, as ever,

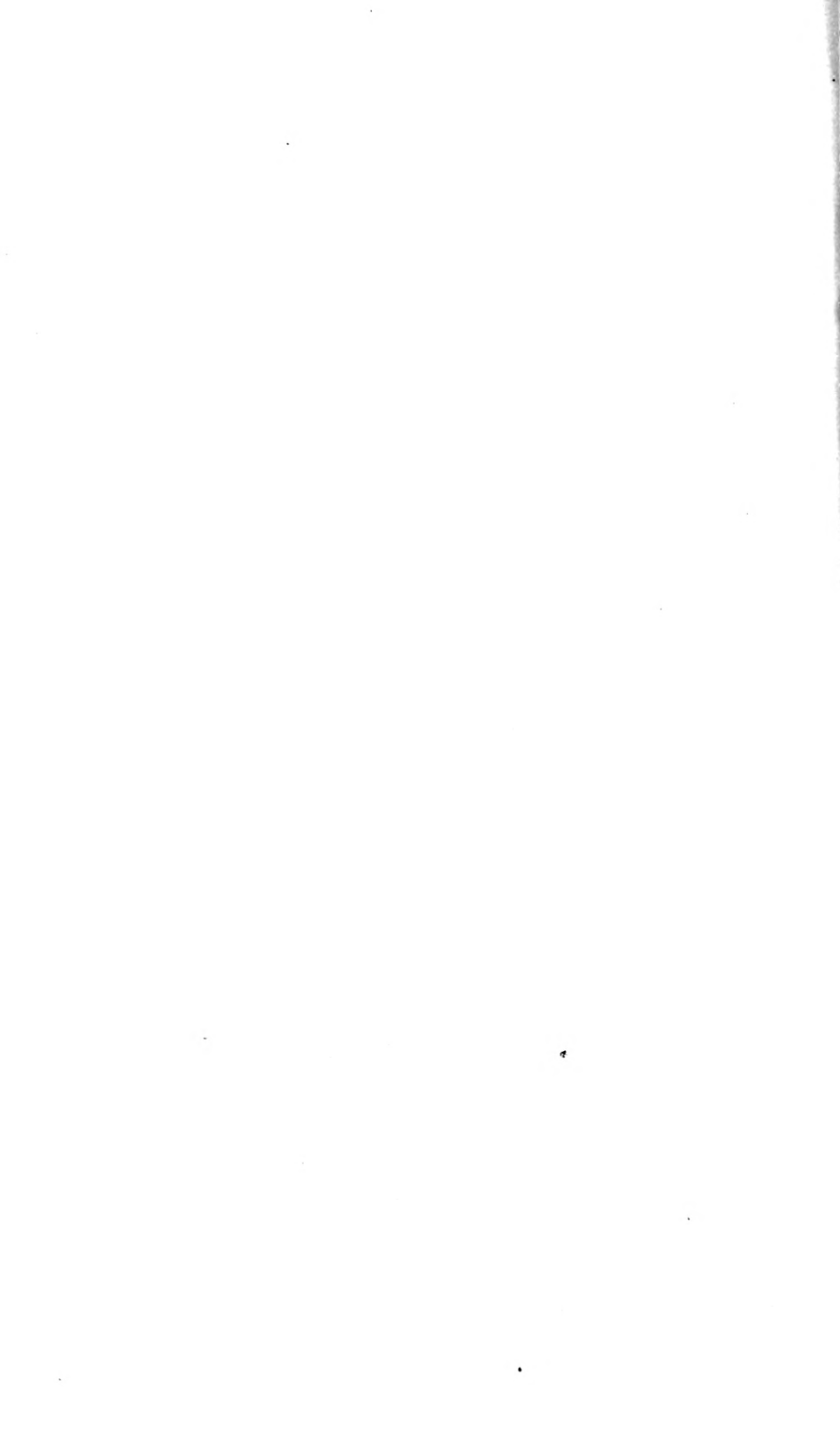
Very truly and faithfully,

Yours,

J. J. S.











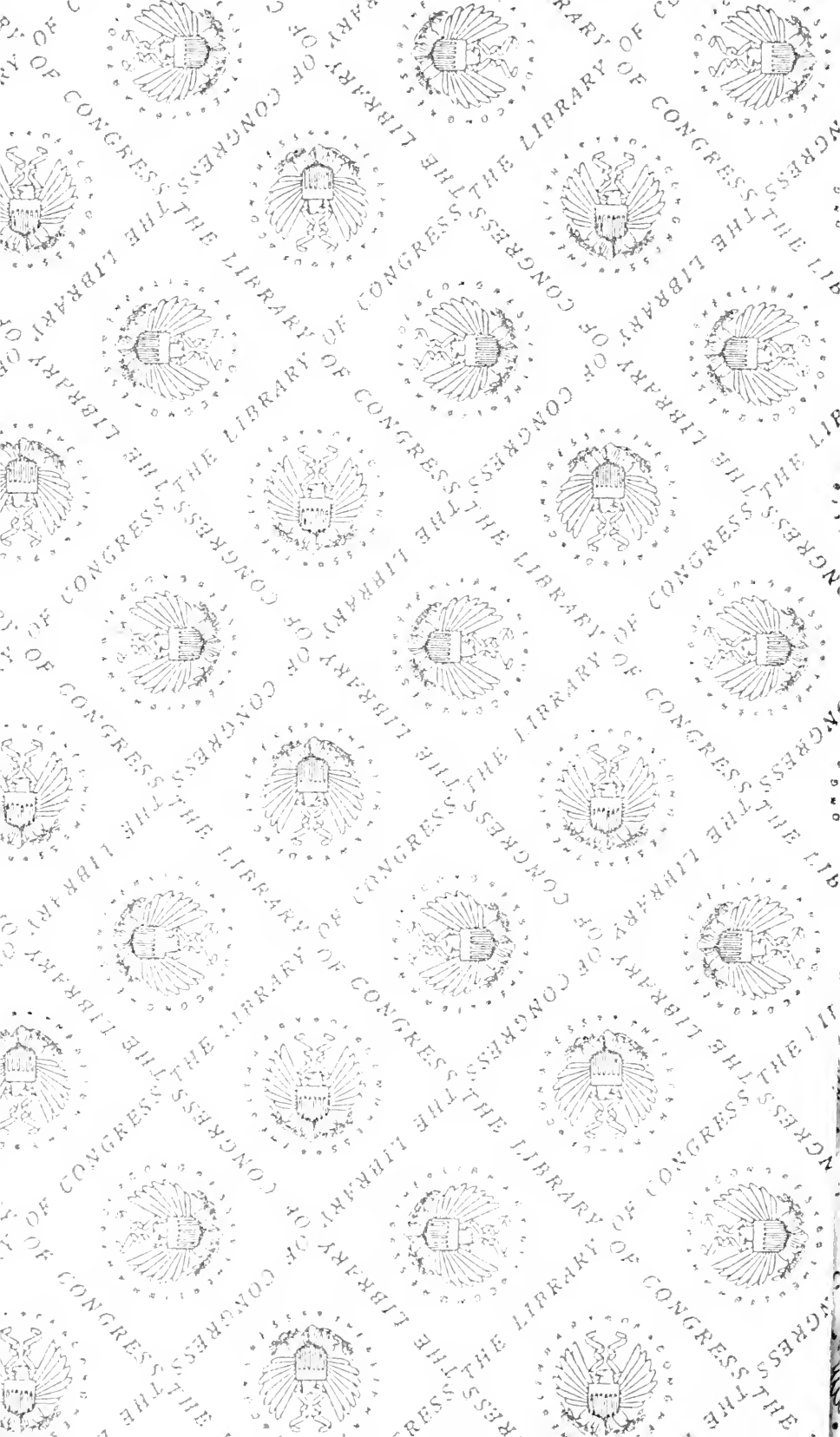




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